

*Mary Antoinette*  
K  
T R I A L

9226. d. 5.  
of

MARIE ANTOINETTE,

Late Queen of France,

BEFORE THE

REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL,

AT PARIS;

COMPILED FROM A MANUSCRIPT SENT FROM PARIS,

AND FROM THE

JOURNALS OF THE MONITEUR.

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THE WHOLE CAREFULLY REVISED AND CORRECTED

BY

THE CONDUCTOR OF THE TIMES.

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LONDON:

PRINTED AND SOLD AT THE *Logographic-Press*,  
PAINTING-HOUSE SQUARE, BLACKFRIARS;

ALSO SOLD BY

J. OWEN, No. 168, PICCADILLY; AND T. LONGMAN, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

TRIAL

OF

MIRIE AND OINETTE

THE QUEEN OF FRANCE

REPRODUCED

REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL

AT PARIS

CONTAINED FROM A MANUSCRIPT SENT FROM PARIS

AND ALSO FOR

THE JURY OF THE COURT



THE WHOLE OF THE MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINED

IN

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LONDON

PRINTED AND SOLD AT THE BATHING HOUSE

TRINITY HOUSE SQUARE, BLACKFRIARS

ALSO SOLD BY

J. GARR, NO. 10, CANNON STREET, AND T. LONGMAN, PATERNOSTER

ROBINSON ROAD



P R E F A C E.

**M**ARIE ANTOINETTE of AUSTRIA,  
Queen of France, displayed the same  
fortitude on the scaffold, as she had evinced  
during the five years of her unparalleled mis-  
fortunes. She was the same as she appeared  
to be at *Versailles*, on the 5th and 6th of  
October, 1789;—at the time of her return  
from *Varennes*, with her captive husband, in  
June, 1791;—at the *Thuilleries* on the 20th  
of June, and 10th of August, 1792;—and  
during her rigorous confinement of thir-  
teen months in the prison of the *Temple*.—  
She astonished those who assumed to them-  
selves the office of Judges, by her presence  
of mind; she exposed the contradictions of  
the evidence, and the artful interrogatories  
of her prosecutors with great ingenuity and  
clearness; she replied with firmness and dig-  
nity; and heard her sentence without emo-  
tion. She bore with resignation that which  
was

was more terrible than death itself—the approach of her executioner!—She mounted the scaffold with a firm step; she beheld the preparations for her execution with a calm resignation; and bowing her head under the fatal instrument which was to sever it from her body, she thus ended a life, the last five years of which were a series of painful anxiety and woe. In the eye of the true philosopher, the QUEEN appeared a thousand times more great and majestic on this awful occasion, when, by the serenity of her countenance she confronted the bravoës and ferocious plaudits of a deluded populace; than when, at the summit of human grandeur, she visited Paris in regal splendour, amid the homage of an admiring and loyal nation.

How different was the QUEEN's conduct to that of those, who, once the favourites of the Revolutionists, have notwithstanding ended their days on the scaffold!

CUSTINE—the *conquering* CUSTINE—was obliged to be ignominiously dragged to the block; and the *patriot* GORSAS, as he was called, was observed to struggle with his executioner. It is not surprising that we should

should see such characters resign life with so much reluctance ; and that they should feel enraged at suffering by the same axe which they had sharpened for those who differed from their own wretched principles. Such ought to be the end of their career, to justify the ways of providence, whose infinite wisdom is sometimes hidden from the eyes of men. Observe, on the other hand, LOUIS XVI, MARIE ANTOINETTE, and their faithful adherents ; who, conscious of their innocence, and with the hope of an happy immortality, beheld the instrument of death without fear or trembling.

On the one hand, an affectionate husband whom she was going to meet in the other world ; on the other hand, her children who were left surrounded by assassins, MARIE ANTOINETTE seems neither to have sought for death, nor to have regretted the loss of life. She terminated her existence worthy of being the consort of LOUIS the XVIth ; and equally worthy of being the daughter of MARIE THERESA.

These observations on the QUEEN OF FRANCE, in the last moments previous to her



her execution, naturally present themselves to the mind, on reading the monstrous and unheard-of proceedings against this illustrious and unfortunate Princess. It is with a view of inculcating similar sentiments in those who were her enemies; as well as to console with those tender hearts who pitied her misfortunes, that this important Trial is published;—a Trial which will cause the Revolutionists of France to be regarded with horror, by the most distant generations; while it will give rise to the most sincere sympathy for a Queen, who seems to have mounted the summit of earthly grandeur, only to make her fall and humiliation the more manifest.

THE CONDUCTOR OF THE TIMES.

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## INTERROGATORIES

MADE TO

**MARIE ANTOINETTE,**

*Before one of the Judges of the REVOLUTIONARY  
TRIBUNAL, previous to her Trial.*

---

**WE**, *Amant Martial Joseph Hamart*, President of the Revolutionary Tribunal, established by the law of March 10, 1793, independent of the jurisdiction of the Tribunal of Appeal, invested with full powers, delegated to this Tribunal by the law of April 5th, of the year before-mentioned, assisted by *Nicholas Joseph Fabricius*, Clerk of the Tribunal, in the presence of *Anthony Quentin Fouquier*, Public Accuser, ordered to be brought before us, from the prison of the *Conciergerie*, *Marie Antoinette*, widow of *Capet*, whom we asked her names, age, profession, country, and place of abode.

*Answer.* My name is *Marie Antoinette*, of *Lorraine* and *Austria*, 38 years of age, widow of the King of France.

B

Q. Which

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B

Q. Which

Q. Which was the place of your abode at the moment of your arrest?

A. I have not been arrested; but persons came to take me in the National Assembly, and conducted me to the *Temple*.

Q. Had you, previously to the Revolution, any political connexions with the King of Bohemia and Hungary; and were not those connexions contrary to the interests of France, which heaped benefits on you?

A. The King of Bohemia and Hungary was my brother; the connexions I had with him were only those of consanguinity, and not of a political nature; those connexions could only be to the advantage of France, to which I was attached by the family into which I married.

Q. You are charged, that, not contented with dilapidating, in a shocking manner, the finances of France, the fruits of the people's industry, for the sake of your pleasures and intrigues, in concert with infamous ministers; but you sent to the Emperor thousands of millions, to serve against the nation which fostered you.

A. Never, that I know; this mean artifice has frequently been employed to my prejudice; I loved my husband too much to dilapidate the money of his country. My brother did not want money from France; and from the same principles which attached me to France, I would not have given him any.

Q. You are charged, that, since the Revolution, you have never ceased to carry on manœuvres with foreign powers, against your country, and against liberty; even at a period when Frenchmen had only the image of that liberty which the nation absolutely wishes for.

A. Since

A. Since the Revolution, I have forborne all foreign correspondence; I never meddled in domestic concerns.

Q. Did you not employ some secret agent to correspond with the foreign powers, chiefly with your brothers; and was not *De Lessart* this principal agent?

A. Never in my life.

Q. Your answer does not appear precise; for it is notorious that there existed in the *ci-devant* palace of the *Thuilleries*, secret and nocturnal petty Councils, over which you yourself presided, and in which the answers to be made to the foreign powers, and those to the successive Constituent and Legislative Assemblies, were discussed, deliberated upon, and resolved.

A. The preceding answer is perfectly precise; for the rumour of those committees has constantly been revived, whenever it was intended to amuse and deceive the people; I never knew of such a committee; nor has it ever existed.

Q. It appears, that when it became a question to know whether Louis Capet should sanction or affix his *veto* to the decree issued in the course of November, 1791, concerning his brothers, the emigrants, and the refractory and fanatical priests, you, in spite of the most urgent representation of *Duranton*, then Minister of Justice, brought Louis Capet to the determination of affixing his *veto* to those decrees, the sanction of which would have prevented the ills which France has since suffered, and which evidently proves that you assisted at his Councils and petty Councils.



*A.* In the month of November, Duranton was not minister; in other respects, my consort did not require to be urged to do that which he believed to be his duty. I was not of the Council; where, only, affairs of that description were transacted and decided.

*Q.* It was you who taught Louis Capet that art of profound dissimulation by which he too long deceived the kind French nation, who did not suppose that perfidy and villany could be carried to such a degree.

*A.* Yes, the people have been deceived—cruelly deceived! but it is neither by me nor my husband!

*Q.* By whom, then, have the people been deceived?

*A.* By those who felt it their interest; it never was ours to deceive them.

*Q.* You do not give a direct answer to the question.

*A.* I would answer it precisely if I knew the names of the persons.

*Q.* You were the principal instigatrix to the treason of Louis Capet; it was by your advice, and, perhaps, by your importunities and teasing, that he resolved to fly France, to put himself at the head of the furious men who wished to rend his country.

*A.* My husband did not wish to quit France: I followed him on his journey; and would have followed him every where; but if I had known that he wanted to quit his country, I would have employed all possible means to dissuade him; but he had no such intention.

*Q.* What

Q. What, then, was the purposed end of the journey, known by the name of the *Journey to Varennes*?

A. To procure for himself that liberty which he could not enjoy here in the eyes of any person; and thereby to conciliate all parties, for the happiness and tranquillity of France.

Q. Why did you travel at that period by the borrowed name of a Russian Baroness?

A. Because we could not get out of Paris without changing names.

Q. Amongst other persons who favoured your escape, were not La Fayette, Bailly, and Renard the architect, of the number?

A. The two former would have been the last we should have employed; the third person was then under our orders; but we never employed him for that purpose.

Q. Your answer is contradictory to declarations of the persons who fled with you; from whose examination it appeared, that the carriage of La Fayette, at the moment when all the fugitives came down stairs through the apartment of a woman in your service, was in one of the court-yards; and La Fayette and Bailly were upon the watch, while Renard directed your route.

A. I do not know what declarations might have been made by the persons who were with us; all I know is, that we met the carriage of La Fayette, in the *Place de Carouzel*; but that we went on our way without stopping; that, with regard to Renard, I declare that he did not direct our march; that I alone opened the door, and made every body go out.

Q. From this confession of your having opened the door, and let every body out, there remains no doubt that you directed Louis Capet in all his actions, and made him resolve to fly.

A. I cannot think that the opening of a door can prove that a person directs the actions of another; my consort desiring and thinking himself obliged to fly with his children, it was my duty to follow them; and I was to do every thing to assist him in getting out safe.

Q. You never, for a moment, concealed your desire of destroying liberty; you wanted to reign at any rate, and re-ascend the Throne over the corpses of the patriots.

A. We did not want to re-ascend the Throne, as we were already upon it; we never had any other desire than the happiness of France. If the people were happy, it was all we desired.

Q. If such were your sentiments, you would have used your influence over the mind of your brother, to induce him to break the Treaty of Pilnitz, concluded between him and William—a Treaty, the sole end of which has been, and is, to associate with all the Powers to annihilate that liberty which the French will have in spite of that coalition and its treasons.

A. I only knew of that treaty after it had been concluded; it had long been of no effect. It ought to be observed, that the Foreign Powers were not the first aggressors of France.

Q. It is true that the Foreign Powers had not declared war; but you cannot be ignorant, that this declaration of war has only been occasioned by a mischievous faction, the authors of which  
will



will soon receive the just punishment they deserve.

A. I do not know whom you mean to speak of; but I know that the Legislative Assembly had reiterated the demand of the Declaration of War, and that my husband consented to it, with the unanimous advice of the members of his council.

Q. You have held a correspondence with the *ci-devant* French Princes, since their quitting France, and with the Emigrants; you have conspired with them against the safety of the State.

A. I never held any correspondence with any Frenchman abroad; with respect to my brothers, I may possibly have written them one or two immaterial letters; but I do not believe I have; and I recollect having often refused to do so.

Q. Do you recollect to have said, on the 4th of October, 1789, that you were enchanted with the day of the 1st of that month—a day remarkable for the orgies of the *Gardes-du-corps*, and the regiment of Flanders, who, in a moment of ebriety, expressed their attachment to the Throne, and their aversion for the people, trod the National cockade under foot, and put on the white cockade?

A. I do not recollect saying any such thing; but it is possible I may have said I was pleased with the first sentiment that animated the festival. As to the rest of the question, drunkenness was not necessary to make the *Gardes-du-Corps* testify attachment and devotion to persons in whose service they were. With respect to the affair of the cockade, if it existed, it could only be the error of a few, who would now disapprove it; but it is impossible that persons so attached, should tread un-

derfoot and wish to change an emblem which the King himself then wore.

Q. What interest did you take in the success of the armies of the Republic?

A. The happiness of France is what I desire above all things.

Q. Do you think that Kings are necessary to the happiness of the people?

A. An individual cannot possibly decide upon such a matter.

Q. You regret, without doubt, that your son has lost a throne which he might have ascended, if the people, at length enlightened upon their true rights, had not themselves crushed that throne.

A. I shall never regret any thing for my son, so long as my country is happy.

Q. What is your opinion of the 10th of August, when the Swiss, by order of the Master of the Castle in the Thuilleries, dared to fire upon the people?

A. I was not in the Castle when they began to fire; I only know that no order was ever given to fire.

Q. Have you not, during your residence in the Temple, been exactly informed of political affairs; and have you not kept up a correspondence with the enemies of the Republic, by means of some municipal officers, who were in your service; or by some person introduced by them into your habitation?

A. During the fourteen months I have been confined, I have had neither news, nor knowledge of any political affairs, which it was impossible for me to receive. Since the beginning of October,  
pen,

pen, paper and pencil have been taken from me. I have never addressed any municipal officer, which, had I done, there is reason to believe would have been ineffectual: I have seen none than them.

Q. Your answer is contradictory to the declarations made by the persons who dwelt in the same place.

A. Not many persons lived in the Temple; and those who declare any thing of the kind, dare not prove it.

Q. Whilst you were at the Conciergerie, were not several persons introduced into your apartment—did not one of them drop a carnation in which was a writing; and was it not you who took up this carnation, after repeated signs had been made to you by the same person?

A. Different persons entered my chamber, but in the presence of the Administrators of the Police; I did not know them. There was one whom I thought I recollected. It is true a carnation was dropped, as I have before declared, but I paid so little attention to the circumstance, that but for the sign made to me, I should not have taken it up; and I did so only for fear that the person who threw it down might be exposed if it were found.

Q. Did you not recollect this person as having been at the Castle of the Thuilleries, on the 20th of June; and as having been one of those who remained with you on that day?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you not recollect this same person to have been at the Thuilleries, on the 10th of August?

A. No.



A. No.

Q. Do you know her name?

A. No; I do not recollect having ever known it.

Q. It is very strange that you should not know her name, for the person said, that you had rendered her great services; which is seldom the case without knowing the person who is the object, in a manner more or less particular.

A. It is possible that those who have rendered services may forget them; and that those who have received them, may recollect them.

Q. Have you replied to the note found in the carnation?

A. I endeavoured with a pin; not with a view to answer her, but to beg her not come there; in case she should again present herself.

Q. Do you recollect the answer?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you produced the note intended for a reply, and pricked with a pin?

A. I have acknowledged it.

Q. Did you make a particular motion at the time when this person presented herself?

A. Not having seen any known face for thirteen months, I was a little startled at first from the idea of danger incurred by her coming into my chamber; afterwards I thought she might be employed somewhere; and then I was easy.

Q. What do you mean by the two last expressions?

A. As several people whom I did not know came to me with the Administrators, I thought that this person might be employed in some place at the Sections, or elsewhere; and, in that case, that she did not run any risk.

Q. Did

Q. Did the Administrators of the Police often bring people with them?

A. They were almost always accompanied by one, two or three unknown persons.

Q. Who were the Administrators that came most frequently?

A. *Michonis, Michel, Jobert, and Marino.*

Q. Did these four Administrators always bring persons unknown to you?

A. I believe so; but do not recollect.

Q. Have you any thing to add upon these different answers — have you a counsel?

A. No; because I know not one.

Q. Do you wish us to name you one or two counsellors?

A. I do.

After which, two Advocates belonging to the Office were named; they were the citizens *Trouson Ducoudray*, and *Chauveau Delagarde*.

The present interrogatory having been read to Marie Antoinette, she declared that it contained the truth; that she had nothing to add or to retract; that she persisted in what she had said; and has signed with us, the said Public Accuser and Register.

(Signed) MARIE ANTOINETTE, HERMAN  
FOUQUIER, & J. N. FABRICIUS.

ACT

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ACT OF ACCUSATION,  
AND  
INTERROGATORY  
OF  
MARIE ANTOINETTE OF AUSTRIA,  
CI-DEVANT QUEEN OF FRANCE.

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REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL,

OCTOBER 14.

CHARLIER, PRESIDENT.

**B**EING interrogated as to her names, surnames, age, qualities, place of birth and abode, answered, that her name is *Marie Antoinette Lorraine*, of Austria, aged about thirty-eight years, widow of the King of France, born at Vienna, finding herself at the time of her arrest, in the place of the fittings of the National Assembly.

The *Greffier* read the Act of Accusation, as follows:—

“ *Antoine Quentin Fouquier*, Public Accuser of the Criminal Revolutionary Tribunal, established at Paris, by a decree of the National Convention



vention of the 10th of March, 1793, the second year of the Republic, without having any recourse to the Tribunal of Appeal, in virtue of the power given him by the 11th article of another decree of the Convention of April 5 following, stating, that the Public Accuser of the said Tribunal is authorised to arrest, pursue and judge upon the denunciation of the Constituted Authorities or of the citizens, declares:—

“ That by a decree of the Convention of the 1st of August last, *Marie Antoinette*, widow of *Louis Capet*, has been brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, as accused of conspiring against France; but by another decree of the Convention, of October 3, it has been decreed, that the Revolutionary Tribunal should occupy itself without delay, and without interruption, on the trial; that the Public Accuser received the papers concerning the widow Capet, on the 19th and 20th of the first month of the second decade, commonly called the 11th and 12th of October of the present month; that one of the Judges of the Tribunal immediately proceeded to the interrogatories of the widow Capet; that an examination being made of all the pieces transmitted by the Public Accuser, it appears that, like *Messalina*, *Brunebaut*, *Fredigonde*, and *Medicis*, who were formerly qualified with the titles of Queens, whose names have ever been odious, and will never be effaced from the page of history—

“ *Marie Antoinette*, widow of *Louis Capet*, has, since her abode in France, been the scourge and the blood-sucker of the French; that even before the happy Revolution, which gave the French people their sovereignty, she had political correspondence with a man called the King of Bohemia  
and

and Hungary; that this correspondence was contrary to the interests of France; that not content with acting in concert with the brothers of Louis Capet, and the infamous and execrable *Calonne*, at that time Minister of the Finances; of having shamefully squandered the finances of France (the fruit of the industry of the people) to satisfy her inordinate pleasures, and to pay the agents of her criminal intrigues; it is notorious that she has, at different times, transmitted millions to the Emperor; which served him, and still enable him to sustain a war against the Republic; and that it is by such excessive plunder, that she has at length exhausted the national treasury;—

“ That, since the Revolution, the widow Capet has never, for a moment, withheld criminal intelligence and correspondence with foreign powers, and in the interior of the Republic, by agents devoted to her, whom she subsidized and caused to be paid out of the treasury of the *ci-devant* civil list; that, at various epochas, she has employed every manœuvre that she thought consistent with her perfidious views to bring about a counter-revolution: first, having, under pretext of a necessary re-union between the *ci-devant* gardes-du-corps, and the officers and foldiers of the regiment of Flanders, contrived a repast between these two corps, on the 1st of October, 1789, which degenerated into an absolute orgy; and during the course of which, the agents of the widow Capet seconded her counter-revolutionary projects, and induced the greater part of the guests, in the moment of inebriety, to sing songs expressive of their entire devotion to the throne, and their most marked aversion to the people; of having excited them

them to wear the white cockade, and to tread the national cockade under foot; and of having authorised, by her presence, all the counter-revolutionary excesses, particularly in encouraging the women who accompanied her, to distribute these white cockades among the guests; and having, on the 4th of the same month, testified the most immoderate joy at what passed during these orgies,

“ Secondly, having, in concert with Louis Capet, directed to be distributed very plentifully throughout the kingdom, publications of a counter-revolutionary nature, some of which were pretended to have been published by the conspirators on the other side of the Rhine, (meaning, it is supposed, at Coblenz); such as *Petitions to the Emigrants—Reply of the Emigrants—the Emigrants to the People—the shortest Follies are the best—the Order of March—the Return of the Emigrants*, and other such writings;—of having even carried her perfidy and dissimulation to such a height, as to have circulated writings in which she herself is described in very unfavourable colours, in order to cloak the imposture; thereby to make it be believed by Foreign Powers, that she was extremely ill-treated by Frenchmen, and to instigate them to go to war with France;—

#### OCTOBER 15.

“ That, in order to carry on her counter-revolutionary designs with more efficacy, she, by means of agents, caused in Paris, towards the beginning of October, 1789, a famine, which occasioned



caſioned a new infurrection; in conſequence of which, an innumerable crowd of citizens, of both ſexes, ſet out for Verſailles on the 5th of the ſaid month; that this fact is proved beyond all contradiction, as the next day there was a plenty of every thing, even after the time that the widow Capet arrived with her family in Paris;—

“ That, although ſcarcely arrived in Paris, the widow Capet, fertile in intrigues of every kind, formed committees, conſiſting of all the counter-revolutioniſts and intriguers of the Conſtituent and Legiſlative Aſſemblies, who held their meetings in the dead of night; that plots were there formed in what manner to deſtroy the Rights of Man, and the decrees already paſſed, which were to form the baſis of the new conſtitution; that it was at theſe committees, or meetings, that the neceſſary meaſures were deliberated upon to obtain a reviſal of thoſe decrees which were favourable to the people; that the flight of Louis Capet, his widow, and his whole family, was impeded, as they travelled under fictitious names, in the month of June, 1791; that the widow Capet confeſſes in her interrogatory, that it was ſhe who opened and locked the door of the apartment through which the fugitives paſſed; that, independent of the confeſſion of the widow Capet in this reſpect, it is confirmed, by the teſtimony of Louis Charles Capet, and by his ſiſter, that *la Fayette* favoured all the deſigns of the widow Capet, in the ſame manner as *Bailly* did while he was Mayor of Paris, and that both were preſent when the fugitives eſcaped, and favoured their flight as much as lay in their power;—

“ That

That the widow Capet, after her return from Varennes, recommenced her intriguing *coteries*, at which she herself presided; and that, aided by her favourite *La Fayette*, the gates of the *Thuileries* were kept locked, which deprived the citizens of the power of passing backwards and forwards in the courts of the *Thuilleries*; that those only who had cards, were permitted to pass; that this order was given out by *La Fayette* as a measure of punishment to the fugitives; though it served only as a trick to prevent the citizens from knowing what passed at these midnight orgies, and from discovering the plots against Liberty, carried on in this infamous abode;—That it was at these meetings, that the horrible massacre, which took place on the 17th of July, 1791, was planned, when so many zealous patriots were killed in the *Champ de Mars*; that the massacre which had previously taken place at *Nancy*, as well as those which have since happened in different parts of the Republic, were ordered and determined on in these secret councils; that these insurrections, in which the blood of such an immense number of patriots has been spilt, were plotted in order the more expeditiously and securely to obtain a revision of the decrees passed and founded on the Rights of Man, which were so obnoxious to the ambition and counter-revolutionary views of *Louis Capet* and *Marie Antoinette*;—That the Constitution of 1791, being once accepted, the widow Capet took every means in her power to destroy its energy, by means of her manœuvres; that she employed agents in different parts of the Republic to effect this object of annihilating Liberty, and to make the French once more fall beneath

neath the tyrannic yoke, under which they had languished for so many years; that for this purpose, the widow Capet ordered it to be discussed in these midnight meetings, which were truly called the *Austrian Cabinet*, how far it might not be possible to counteract the laws passed in the Legislative Assembly; that it was in consequence of these councils and her advice, that Louis Capet was persuaded to oppose his *Veto* to the famous and salutary decrees passed in the Legislative Assembly against the *ci-devant* princes, brothers of Louis Capet, against the Emigrants, and against that horde of refractory and fanatical priests, who were spread all through France; a *Veto* which has proved one of the principal causes of the evils which France has since experienced;—

“That it is the widow Capet who caused perverse ministers to be nominated, and placed her creatures in the armies and public offices; men who were known by the whole nation to be conspirators against liberty; that it was by her manoeuvres, and those of her agents, asiable as they were perfidious, that she got a new guard formed for Louis Capet, composed of ancient officers, who had quitted their corps, and had refused to take the constitutional oath; that she gave appointments to refractory priests and strangers; and, in short, to all those who were disliked by the nation, and who were worthy of serving in the army of Coblenz, whither many of them fled after being cashiered;—

“That it was the widow Capet, who, in conjunction with a scandalous faction, at that time domineered over the Legislative Assembly, and for some time over the Convention; who declared war



war against the King of Hungary and Bohemia, her own brother; that it was through her manœuvres and intrigues, at all times pernicious to France, that the French were obliged to make their first retreat from Flanders;—

“ That it is the widow Capet who forwarded to the Foreign Courts the plans of the campaign, and the attacks which were agreed upon in council; so that by means of this double treason, the enemies of France were always informed beforehand of the movements of the armies of the Republic; whence it follows—that the widow Capet is the authoress of all those reveries of fortune, which the armies of the Republic have experienced at different times;—

“ That the widow Capet combined and plotted with her perfidious agents, the horrible conspiracy which broke out on the day of the 10th of August; which failed only through the courageous and incredible efforts of the patriots; that to this end, she seduced into her dwelling of the Tuilleries, and even into the subterraneous passages under it, Swiss soldiers, who, at the expiration of a decree then passed, were no longer to belong to the body-guard of Louis Capet; that she kept them in a state of drunkenness, from the 9th to the 10th in the morning, the day appointed for the execution of this horrible conspiracy; that for the same purpose, she had re-united on the 9th a body of those beings, known by the name of the *Knights of the dagger*, who had figured away with the same infamous designs, and in the same place, on the 28th of February, 1791, and again on the 21st of June, 1792;—

“ That the widow Capet fearing, no doubt, that this conspiracy might not have the promised effect, went on the evening of the 9th of August, at half after nine, into the room where the Swiss, and others in her interest, were busy making cartridges; that in order to excite them the more, she took up the cartridges and bit them;—

“ That the next day, the 10th of August, she pressed and solicited Louis Capet to go to the Thuilleries at five in the morning, to review the *real* Swiss guards, and those who had assumed their uniform; and at his return she presented him with a pistol, saying—*This is the moment TO SHEW YOURSELF;* and on his refusing, she called him a coward;—

“ That notwithstanding the widow Capet denies having given any orders to fire on the people; her conduct on the 9th—her deeds in the room of the Swiss guards—the councils she held all the night long—the circumstance of the pistol, and her words to Louis Capet—their sudden retreat from the Thuilleries, and the firing on the people at that very moment he and she entered the room of the Legislative Assembly;—in one word, all these circumstances united, leaves no doubt but that, in her councils during the night, it was, resolved that the people must be fired at; and that Louis Capet and Marie Antoinette, the female director of that conspiracy, should themselves give the orders to fire;—

“ That to the perfidious intrigues and manœuvres of the widow Capet, in confederacy with that infamous faction of which we have just spoken, and with all the enemies of the Republic, France is indebted for the *internal* war which has so long distressed

distressed her; but the end of which is fortunately not much more distant than that of its authors;—

“ That at all times, the widow Capet, by the influence she had acquired over Louis Capet, insinuated into him that perfidious and dangerous art of dissimulation, to promise by public acts the very contrary he intended to perform; and that they both, in their midnight councils, plotted the ruin of that liberty, so dear to Frenchmen (and which they will take care to preserve), and to recover the *plenitude* of the Royal prerogatives;—

“ That finally, the widow Capet, in every respect immoral, and a *new Agrippina*, is so dissolute and so familiar with all crimes, that forgetting her quality of mother, and the limits prescribed by the law of nature, has not hesitated to prostitute herself with Louis Charles Capet, her son; and, according to the confession of the latter, she has committed indecencies with him, the very idea and name of which strikes the soul with horror.”

According to this report, the Public Accuser brings the above accusations against Marie Antoinette, qualifying herself in her interrogatory by the title of *Lorraine and Austria*, widow of Louis Capet; and states—

1st. “ That in conjunction with the brothers of Louis Capet, and the infamous ex-minister Calonne, she squandered, in a most horrid manner, the French finances; sent innumerable sums to the Emperor, and drained the National Treasury.

2d. “ That as well by herself, as by the aid of her counter-revolutionary agents, she kept up a correspondence with the enemies of the Republic, and



and informed these enemies, or caused them to be informed of all the plans of campaign and attack resolved and determined on in the Council,

3d. " That through her intrigues and manœuvres, and those of her agents, she formed conspiracies and plots against the interior and exterior safety of France; and to that effect kindled a civil war in divers provinces of the Republic; armed one citizen against another, and by these means spilled the blood of an incalculable number of citizens, contrary to the 6th article of the first section of the penal code, and to the 2d. article of the 2d. section of the same code,

" In consequence of all which charges, the Public Accuser requests, that an act of the present accusation be given him by the Tribunal; that it be ordained, that on his requisition, and through the channel of a Serjeant at Arms, Marie Antoinette, qualifying herself by the title of *Lorraine and Austria*, widow of Louis Capet, actually confined in the prison called the *Conciergerie* of the Palace, be entered on the registers of the said prison, there to remain the same as in a house of justice, and that the sentence to be given shall be notified to the Municipality of Paris and to the Accused.

*Done in the Chamber of the Public Accuser, the first day of the third decade of the first month of the 2d year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.*

(Signed)

" ANTOINE QUENTIN FOUQUIER."

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## ORDER OF ARREST.

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" The Tribunal, in compliance with the request of the Public Accuser, grants him an act of the accusation by him made against Marie Antoinette, called of Lorraine and Austria, widow of Louis Capet; and orders that agreeably to the said request, and through the means of a Serjeant at Arms, bearer of this ordinance, Marie Antoinette, widow of Louis Capet, shall be bodily arrested, and entered on the registers of the prison called the Conciergerie, where she is actually detained, there to remain the same as in a house of justice; and that the present ordinance be notified to the Municipality of Paris, and to the accused.

" Done and judged at the Tribunal, the 2d day of the 3d decade, of the first month of the 2d year of the Republic, by the citizens *Armand Martial Joseph Herman, Etienne Fausault, Gabriel Toussaint Sebellier, Pierre Andre Coffinbalt, Gabriel de Liege, Pierre Louis Ragmay, Antoine Marie Maire, Francois-Joseph Denizot, Etienne Maçon*; all Judges of the Tribunal."

The President said to the Accused, after the act of accusation had been read,—“This is what you are accused of; lend an attentive ear; you are going to hear the evidence brought against you.”

*He then proceeded to the Examination of the Witnesses.*

*Laurent Lecointre*, deputy to the National Convention, deposed against the Accused for having formerly been the wife of the *ci-devant* King of France; and for being the person who, at the time of her removal to the Temple, had charged him with a memorial to the Convention, in order to gain over twelve or fourteen persons, whom she mentioned, to what she called her service. The Convention, on that occasion, passed to the order of the day, upon the ground that he should address himself to the Municipality.

The Deponent then entered upon the detail of the festivals and orgies which took place at Versailles, from the year 1789; the result of which has been a dreadful dilapidation of the finances of France. The Witness gave a detail of what preceded and followed the Assemblies of the Notables, till the epocha of the opening of the States-General; the state of the generous inhabitants of Versailles; their grievous perplexities on the 23d of June, 1789, when the artillery-men of Nassau, whose artillery was placed in the stables belonging to the Accused, refused to fire upon the people. At length, the Parisians having shaken off the yoke of tyranny, this revolutionary movement re-animating the energy of their brethren at Versailles. They formed the very hardy and courageous project of freeing themselves from the oppression of the despot, or his agents. On the 28th of July, the citizens of Versailles formed a wish to organize themselves into National-guards, like their brethren of Paris. They, nevertheless, proposed  
to



to consult the King; the negociator was the *ci-devant* Prince de Poix. Endeavours were made to prolong the matter; but the organization having been made, the staff was appointed; *D'Estaing* was named Commandant-General, and *Gouvernet* second in command.

The Witness here entered into the detail of the facts which preceded and followed the arrival of the regiment of Flanders. The Accused, on the 29th of September, sent for some officers of the National-guard, and made them a present of two colours; a third remained, which, they were told, was destined for a batallion of pretended guards, paid for the avowed purpose, as it was declared, of relieving the inhabitants of Versailles, who were thus cajoled, and while there was an affectation of pity towards them, they were in reality abhorred.

On the 29th of September, 1789, the National-guard gave a repast to its brave brethren, the soldiers of the regiment of Flanders. The public journals gave an account at the time, that at the repast of the citizens, nothing passed contrary to the principles of liberty; but that the feast given on the 1st of October by the Gardes-du-corps, had no other aim than to provoke the National-guard against the *ci-devant* soldiers of Flanders and the Chasseurs des trois Evêchés.

“ The Witness observed, that the Accused appeared at this latter part with her husband; that they were loudly applauded there; that the air *O! Richard! O! my King!* was played; that the health of the King and Queen was drank, as well as that of her son; but that the health of the Nation, which had been proposed, was rejected. After

ter this, they removed themselves to the castle of the *ci-devant* Court, called Marble; and there, in order to give the King a just idea of the manner with which they were disposed to defend the interests of his family, if occasion required it, a person named *Perceval*, aide-de-camp to *D'Estaing*, mounted first; after him, a grenadier of the regiment of Flanders; a third, a dragoon, having also attempted to scale the said balcony, and not being able to succeed, wished to destroy it. With respect to the said *Perceval*, he took the cross with which he was decorated, in order to give it to a grenadier, who, like him, had scaled the balcony of the *ci-devant* King.

Upon the request of the Public Accuser, the Tribunal ordered, that a *mandamus* should be issued to bring forth *Perceval* and *D'Estaing*.

The Witness added, that on the 3d of the same month of October, the Gardes-de-Corps gave a second repast. It was there that the most violent outrages were committed upon the National Cockade, which was trodden under foot.

The Deponent here detailed what happened at Versailles on the 5th and 6th of October. He observed, that on the day of the 6th of October, *D'Estaing* being informed of the movements which were making in Paris, went to the Municipality of Versailles in order to obtain permission to carry away the *ci-devant* King, who was then hunting, and who was entirely ignorant of what was passing, with a promise to bring him back when tranquillity should be restored. The Witness deposited upon the desk the pieces relative to the facts contained in his declaration, which were added to the process.

The

*The President to the Accused:* Have you any observations to make upon the witness's deposition?

*Reply.* I have no knowledge of the greater part of the facts which the witness mentions. It is true, that I gave two colours to the National-guard of Versailles; and it is also true, that we walked round the table on the day of the repast given by the *Gardes-du-Corps*; but this is all.

*President.* You acknowledge that you were in the Hall of the *ci-devant Gardes-du-Corps*. Were you there when they played the air of *O! Richard! O! my King?*

*Reply.* I do not recollect.

*President.* Were you there when the health of the Nation was proposed, and rejected?

*Reply.* I do not think that I was.

*President.* It is notorious, that the report all over France at that time was, that you had yourself visited the three armed corps at Versailles, for the purpose of engaging them to defend what you called the Prerogatives of the Throne?

*Reply.* I have no answer to make to this observation.

*President.* Did you not, before the 14th of July, hold nocturnal meetings, at which *Polignac* assisted? and was it not there deliberated upon the means of sending money to the Emperor?

*Reply.* I never assisted at any such meetings.

*President.* Have you any knowledge of the famous *Bed of Justice* held by Louis Capet in the midst of the Representatives of the People?

*Reply.* I have.

*President.* Was it not *D'Espremenil* and *Tbouret*, assisted by *Barentin*, who revised the articles that were proposed?

*Reply.*



*Reply.* I am entirely ignorant of this matter.

*President.* Your answers are not true, for it was in your apartments that the articles were revised.

*Reply.* It was in the Council that this affair was determined.

*President.* Did not your husband read his speech to you half an hour before he entered the Hall of the Representatives of the People? and did not you engage him to pronounce it with resolution?

*Reply.* My husband had great confidence in me, and that made him read his speech; but I made no observations.

*President.* What were the deliberations upon surrounding the Representatives of the People with bayonets, and assassinating half of them, if possible?

*Reply.* I never heard mention of such a thing.

*President.* You cannot have been ignorant that there were troops in the Champ de Mars; you must know the cause of their being assembled.

*Reply.* I knew at the time that troops were assembled; but am absolutely ignorant of the motive.

*President.* But, enjoying the confidence of your husband, you must have known the cause?

*Reply.* It was to restore public tranquillity.

*Jean Baptiste Lapierre, ci-devant Aide-Major of the National Guard, deposed, that being on guard at the Castle, on the 20th of June, 1791, the day of the flight to Varennes, he heard it said, that the Aristocrats were to carry off the King and the Royal Family during the night; but that notwithstanding his vigilance, he saw nothing.*

*Public*

*Public Accuser to Marie Antoinette.* Which way did you go out on the day that you fled?

A. By the door of M. de Villequier's apartment.

Q. Who opened the door?

A. I did.

Q. Were you on foot or in a carriage when you passed through the *Place de Carouzel*?

A. On foot.

Q. Were Bailly and La Fayette informed of your departure?

A. No.

Q. Did you meet La Fayette in going out?

A. We saw him in his carriage on the *Place de Carouzel*.

Q. At what hour?

A. Half past eleven or twelve.

Q. Had you seen La Fayette before on that day?

A. I do not recollect.

*Rouffillon, ci-devant* Judge of the Revolutionary Tribunal.—All the facts contained in the Act of Accusation are of such public notoriety, that it is useless to dwell on them. If my inward conviction be of any weight, I shall say, that I am well persuaded that this woman is guilty of greater crimes; and that she has incessantly conspired against the Liberty of the French People. I was at the siege of the Castle of the Thuilleries, on the 10th of August; I saw several bottles, some of which were full, and some empty, under Marie Antoinette's bed; from which circumstance I concluded, that she herself had distributed wine among the Swiss soldiers, in order that these unhappy wretches, in the moment of ebriety, might cut the people's throats.

Rouffillon

Roussillon then said, that his intention, and that of other Patriots, was, after having executed justice upon the Swiss guards, to march to the Convention, there to immolate the Royal Family, which had fled thither. In our way thither (continued he) we met Brissot and Guadet, who conjured us not to commit this political crime;—I say political crime, for it certainly will never be a moral crime to deliver the earth from tyrants!

*President.* Have you any observations to make, Marie Antoinette?

*Queen.* I am unacquainted with that gentleman; I know not what he means.

*Hebert, substitute for the Procureur of the Commune.* Being a member of the Commune on the 10th of August, I was busy in several occupations about the persons at the Temple, and was convinced of their spirit of rebellion against the National authority. I am going to prove this assertion by facts: in a search after the effects belonging to Marie Antoinette, a religious book was found in one of her pockets, among the leaves of which was a sort of image, a token of rallying for the counter-revolutionists; upon this image was a heart, with this inscription:—*Cor Jesus miserere nobis. (Heart of Jesus! have pity on us.)*

A hat was found among Madame Elizabeth's clothes, which she said belonged to Louis Capet, although he had only one, which was in his chamber. I now proceed to heavier charges.

The true *sans-culotte* Simon desired me to repair to the Temple, to communicate important matters to me. I went thither. Simon said to me, 'I am surprised at young Capet committing so many indecencies'—(too gross to mention). Astonished



nished at seeing this child so initiated in wickedness, I asked him who were his instructors. He replied, with all the ingenuoufness and candour of his age, that he had learnt all these abominations of his mother and aunt. I shall not offend your ears with recounting the impurities which this child related; I shall content myself with saying, that he has had an incestuous intercourse with his mother and his aunt; and that young Capet has been ill of a disorder which was brought on by these debaucheries. I cannot believe, Citizens Jurors, that sensual pleasure alone has actuated these modern Messalinas to such excesses. Marie Antoinette could have no other view than that of enervating the child by debauchery, whom she thought would one day become King, in order that she might govern according to her will, and commit, under the shadow of a weak tyrant, all the crimes of another *Medicis*.

I must not forget to observe, that since the death of Louis Capet, the child has been considered by his mother and his aunt as King of the Temple. He constantly sat at the upper end of the table, was shewn much respect and homage, and they always walked behind him.

*Queen.* I answer that the picture found in the ritual, was no emblem of a counter-revolution, but a simple figure of devotion, which had been given to my daughter. As to the hat, my sister assured me, that her brother gave it her when he was provided with a new one. With respect to my son, Mr. Hebert ought to know, that a mother always gives her children a preference to herself. [To the other parts of his deposition, the Queen made no answer.]

*Public*

*Public Accuser.* Did not Citizen *Michonis* bring along with him into the prison an individual, who dropped a pink, in which was inclosed a billet?

*A.* The fact is true.

*Q.* Who was the man who delivered to you this billet?—Did you know him?—What is his name?—What were the contents of the billet?—Did you answer it?

*A.* His name I do not recollect. The contents of the billet were, that he had been thrown into prison, but had found means to extricate himself; that he offered me money; and that he would return on the Friday following.—I answered by pricking upon a paper with a pin, that my guards never suffered me to be out of their sight, so that I had no opportunity to write or communicate with any person.

*Q.* Why were you startled upon seeing this individual?

*A.* Because I was alarmed at the danger which he ran in getting into my prison.

[The Tribunal was going to proceed to hear another witness, when one of the Jury requested the President to demand of the Accused to answer with respect to the crimes, the proof of which rested on the declarations of the young Capet.]

*A.* I remain silent on that subject, because nature holds all such crimes in abhorrence. (Then turning with an animated air to the people—she said) I appeal to all mothers who are present in this Auditory—is such a crime possible?

[The *ci-devant* Count *D'Estaing*, and Citizen *Perceval*, being implicated by the deposition of Laurent Lecointre, the Tribunal issued a mandate to bring up these two individuals.

*Abraham*

*Abraham Silly*, Notary, deposed, that being on duty at the *ci-devant* Palace of the *Tbuilleries*, on the night of the 20th of June, the Accused came to him about six o'clock in the evening, and said, that she wished to walk with her son; that he charged the *Sieur Laroch* to accompany her; that some time after he saw *La Fayette* come five or six times to *Gouvion*; that the latter, about ten o'clock, gave orders to shut the gates, excepting that which led into the court, called the Court of the *ci-devant* Princes; that on the morning, *Gouvion* entered the apartment where the deponent was, and said to him, rubbing his hands with an air of satisfaction, *They are gone*; that he delivered to him a packet, which he carried to the Constituent Assembly, for which Citizen *Beaubarnois*, the President, gave him a receipt.

*President.* At what hour of the night did *La Fayette* quit the Palace?

*Witness.* At midnight, within a few minutes.

*President to the Accused.* At what hour did you depart?

*Accused.* I have already said at three-quarters past eleven.

*P.* Did you depart along with *Louis Capet*?

*A.* No, he departed before me.

*P.* How did he depart?

*A.* On foot, by the great gate.

*P.* And your children?

*A.* They departed an hour before, with their governess; they waited for us in the Square of the *Petit Carrouzel*.

*P.* What was the name of the governess?

*A.* *De Tourzel*.

*P.* Who were the persons along with you?

*D.*

*A.* The



A. The three Gardes-du-Corps who accompanied us, and who returned with us to Paris,

P. How were they dressed?

A. In the same manner as at their return,

P. And how were you dressed?

A. I wore the same robe as at my return.

P. How many persons were there apprized of your departure?

A. There were only the three Gardes-du-Corps at Paris who were acquainted with it; but on the road *Bouille* had placed troops to protect our departure.

P. You said that your children departed an hour before you; and that the *ci-devant* King departed alone; who, then, accompanied you?

A. One of the Gardes-du-Corps.

P. Did not you, at your departure, meet La Fayette?

A. I saw, as I was departing, his carriage passing along the Carrouzel, but I took care not to speak to him.

P. Who furnished you, or caused you to be furnished with the famous carriage in which you departed with your family?

A. A foreigner.

P. Of what nation?

A. A Swede.

P. Was it not *Ferfeu*, who resided at Paris, *Rue de Bacq*?

A. Yes.

P. Why did you travel under the name of a Russian Baroness?

A. Because it was impossible any other way to get out of Paris.

P. Who procured you the passport?

A. It

A. It was demanded by a foreign Minister.

P. Why did you quit Paris?

A. Because the King was desirous to go from it.

*Jean Silvain Bailly*, a man of letters, deposed, that he never had any acquaintance with the *ci-devant* Royal Family; he protested that the facts contained in the Act of Accusation touching the declaration of Charles Capet are absolutely false; he observed, that some days before the flight of Louis, a report was current that he was to depart, and that he had communicated the matter to La Fayette, recommending him to take the necessary steps in this particular.

*The President to the Witness.* Was you not in league with *Pastoret* and *Ræderer*, *Ex-Procureurs Généraux Syndics* of the Department?

*Witness.* I had no other concern with them than that which subsists between Magistrates.

P. Was it not you, who, in concert with La Fayette, founded the Club known by the name of 1789?

W. I was not the founder; I only attended it because some Bretons of my acquaintance were there. They invited me to be present, telling me that it would cost only five Louis, which sum I gave, and was received, and since have assisted at only two dinners.

P. Did you not assist at the secret conferences held at the house of the *ci-devant La Rochefoucault*?

W. I never heard of any. They possibly might exist; but I never assisted at them.

P. If you had no such secret conferences, why, at the time of the decree of June 19, 1790, by which the Constituent Assembly, desirous to give

the conquerors of the Bastile a striking mark of the gratitude of the whole Nation, recompensed their courage and zeal, particularly by placing them in a distinguished manner in the midst of their brethren in the Champ de Mars, on the day of the Federation—why, I say, did you excite a quarrel between them and their brethren in arms, the *ci-devant* French Guards?—why did you play the mourner at this Assembly, and force them to bring back the gratification with which they had been honoured?

*W.* I went among them solely at the request of their chiefs, in order to effect the reconciliation of the two parties; it was besides one of them who made the motion to return the decorations which the Constituent Assembly had honoured them with, and not I.

*P.* Those who made this motion being recognized as attached to you in quality of spies, the brave conquerors did them justice by driving them from their body.

*W.* People are strangely deceived in this respect.

*P.* Had you not a hand in the journey to *St. Cloud*, in the month of April; and, in concert with La Fayette, did you not solicit an order from the Department to hang out the red flag?

*W.* No.

*P.* Were you informed, that the *ci-devant* King secreted a considerable number of refractory priests in the castle?

*W.* Yes; I went to the King, at the head of the Municipality, to invite him to send away the non-juring priests who were in his house.

*P.* Can



P. Can you give the names of the inhabitants of the castle, known by the name of Knights of the Poniard?

W. I know not any.

P. At the time of the revival of the Constitution of 1791, were you not united with the *La-meths*, *Barnave*, *Desmeuniers*, *Chapellier*, and other famous coalesced revisers; or rather sold to the Court for the purpose of robbing the people of their lawful rights, and to leave them only the image of liberty?

W. *La Fayette* reconciled himself with the *La-meths*; but I could not, never having been connected with them.

P. It seems that you were very intimate with *La Fayette*, and that your sentiments were pretty much the same as his.

W. I had no further intimacy with him than in regard to his office; at the time, I certainly partook of the general opinion of Paris, with respect to him.

P. You say that you never assisted at any private meetings; how, then, was it that, at the moment when you went to the Constituent Assembly, Charles Lameth took the answer which he made you out of his bureau? This proves the existence of a criminal coalition.

W. The National Assembly had, by a decree, ordered the Constituted Authorities to repair to its hall; I went thither with the Members of the Department; I only received the Assembly's orders, and did not speak; it was the President of the Department who pronounced the speech upon the event.

P. Did you not also receive Antoinette's orders for the execution of the best patriots?

D 3

W. No;

*W.* No; I went to the Champ de Mars, only in consequence of a resolution of the Council General of the Commons.

*P.* It was by permission of the Municipality that the Patriots assembled in the Champ de Mars; they made their declaration to the Register; a receipt was delivered them: how, then, could you display the infernal red flag against them?

*W.* The Council resolved so, because, since the morning, it was informed, that two men had been massacred in the Champ de Mars; and the succeeding reports hourly becoming more alarming, the Council was deceived, and resolved to employ the armed force.

*P.* On the contrary, was it not the people who were deceived by the Municipality? Was it not that body which provoked the assemblage, in order to attract the best patriots there, to cut their throats?

*W.* No, certainly.

*P.* What did you do with the killed, that is to say, with the patriots who were assassinated?

*W.* The Municipality having directed the *procès-verbal*, transported them to the Court of the Military Hospital, at the *Gros Caillon*, where the greater part was known.

*P.* How many individuals were there?

*W.* The number was ascertained and made public by the *procès-verbal* which the Municipality stuck up at the time; there were twelve or thirteen.

*A Juvor.* I observe to the Tribunal, that being on that day at the Champ de Mars with my father, at the moment when the massacre began, I saw seventeen or eighteen persons of both sexes killed

killed near the river where I was; my father and I only avoided death by jumping into the river up to our necks in water.

The Witness was silent.

*The President to the Accused.* How many priests were there in the castle?

*Accused.* We had only priests about us who said mass.

Q. Were they non-juring priests?

A. The law permitted the King, in this respect, to take whom he chose.

Q. What was the subject of your discourse on the road from Varennes, in returning with Barnave and Petion to Paris?

A. We talked on very indifferent matters.

*John Baptist Hibain, alias Perceval*, formerly a game-keeper, and now employed at the manufactory of arms, said, that being at Versailles, on the first of October, 1789, he knew, at that time, of the first feast of the Gardes-du-Corps, but was not present at the same. That, on the 5th of the same month, in his capacity of Aide-de-Camp of the *ci-devant* Count *d'Estaing*, he acquainted the latter that some commotions had happened at Paris, of which *d'Estaing* took no notice; that the same afternoon, the crowd having considerably increased, he spoke to *d'Estaing* a second time, but that he would not so much as hear him.

The witness next entered into a detail of the arrival of the Parisians at Versailles between 11 and 12 at night.

*President.* Did you not wear a decoration at that period?

*Witness.* I wore the Ribbon of the Order of Limbourg,



Limbourg, of which I had, like any one that wished to have it, bought the Brevet for 1500 livres.

Q. Were not you, after the disorderly feast of the Gardes-du-Corps, in the Court of Marble, and were you not one of the first that scaled the balcony of the *ci-devant* King?

A. I came to the feast of the Guards when it was nearly finished, and as they went to the castle, I accompanied them thither.

*The President to Witness Lecointre.* Inform the Tribunal what you know relating to the present witness.

*Lecointre.* I know that Perceval scaled the balcony of the apartment of the *ci-devant* King—that he was followed by a grenadier of the regiment of Flanders; and that, being arrived at the apartment of Louis Capet, Perceval embraced the said grenadier, in presence of the tyrant, then present, saying “There is no more regiment of *Flanders*, we are all of us *Royal Guards*.” A dragoon from the regiment *Les Trois-Evechés*, having attempted unsuccessfully to follow them, was going to destroy himself.

The witness observed, that he did not speak to the above fact as an eye-witness, but that Perceval, the evidence present, had at the time entrusted it to him, Lecointre, in confidence, and he afterwards found it to be strictly true. He, in consequence, desired the President to require Percival to declare, whether or not he remembers having related at the time the above circumstances to him the witness.

*Perceval.* I remember having seen citizen *Lecointre*; I even believe to have acquainted him with the history of the balcony. I know he was on the  
the

the 5th and 6th of October Commander of the National Guards, in the absence of d'Estaing, who had absconded.

*Lecointre* maintained his deposition as strictly true.

*Rene Millet*, a servant maid, deposed, that having, in 1788, lived as servant on the Great Common at Versailles; she one day said to the *ci-devant* Count de *Coigny*, in a moment of good humour: Will the Emperor still continue to wage war against the Turks?—Surely that must ruin France on account of the immense sums the Queen sends her brother for that purpose, which must at least amount to 200 millions?—"Thou art right enough," answered the Count, "it has cost already more than two hundred millions, and we not at the end of it." I know further, says the witness, that happening to be, after the 23d of June, 1789, in a place where some guards of Artois and some officers of hussars were present, I heard the former say, at the time the massacre of the French Guards was in agitation, *every one must be at his post and do his duty*. But that the French Guards, having been informed of what was intended against them, cried out, *To Arms!!*—which defeated the project entirely.

I further observe (continues the witness), that I have been informed by divers persons, that the prisoner had formed a plan to assassinate the Duke of Orleans. The King being acquainted therewith, ordered her to be instantly searched; on which two pistols were found on her. The King, in consequence, had her confined a prisoner in her own room during a fortnight.

*Queen.*

*Queen.* It is possible I might have received an order from my husband to remain a fortnight in my apartment, but it was not for a case similar to the above.

*Witness.* I know further, that in the first days of October, 1789, some ladies of the Court distributed white cockades to divers private gentlemen at Versailles.

*Queen.* I remember having heard, that one or two days after the feast of the Body Guards, some women distributed these cockades; but neither I nor my husband were the authors of similar disorders.

*President.* What steps did you pursue to punish these women, after you were acquainted with this circumstance?

*Queen.* None at all.

*Jean Baptiste Labenette* deposed, that he was perfectly acquainted with a number of facts contained in the act of accusation; and added, that three private men came to assassinate him, in the name of the prisoner.

*President to the Queen.* Did you ever read "*The Orator of the People?*"

*Queen.* No, never.

*François du Fresne*, gendarme, deposed, that having been in the room of the prisoner, at the time a pink was brought her; knows, that in a billet therein concealed the following words were written; *What are you doing here? we have men and money at your service.*

*Magdelaine Rosey*, wife of *Richard*, ci-devant Keeper of the House of Arrest in the Conciergerie of the Palace, deposed, that a gendarme, named *Gilbert*, had told her, that the prisoner had received



received a hint from a private gentleman, brought there by *Michonis*, Administrator of the Police, which gentleman had given her a pink, in which a billet was concealed; and considering that the said gentleman might bring her, the witness, into trouble, she acquainted *Michonis* thereof, who answered, that he would not introduce any further person to the widow Capet.

*Toussaint Richard* declared, that he well knows the Prisoner, for having been put under his guard since the 2d of October last.

*Marie Devaux*, wife of *Arell*, deposed, that she had been with the Prisoner during 41 days, at the *Conciergerie*, and had neither seen nor heard any thing except a gentleman coming one day with *Michonis*, who gave the Prisoner a billet folded up in a pink; that she, the witness was then working, and she saw the same gentleman call again in the course of that day.

*Queen*. He came twice in the space of a quarter of an hour.

The Accused, being asked respecting a small packet which was shewn her, acknowledged it was the same as that on which she had put her seal when she was transferred from the Temple to the *Conciergerie*.

The packet being opened, one of the officers of the Court took an inventory of it, and called over its contents.

The first was some locks of hair of different colours.

*Queen*. They are locks of the hair of my children, living and dead, and of my husband.

The next was a packet marked with cyphers.

*Queen*. This is only a table to learn my child to reckon.

Several

Several papers were then read, containing memorandums of washing bills, &c.

A porte-feuille of parchments and other papers was then produced, on which was written the names of different people.

The President demanded that the Accused should explain them.

Q. Who is the woman called *Salentin*?

A. She was for a long time charged with my affairs.

Q. Who is the Demoiselle *Vion*?

A. She was employed in the care of my children's clothes.

Q. And who is Madame *Cbaumette*?

A. She succeeded Mademoiselle *Vion*.

Q. What is the name of the woman who took care of your laces?

A. I do not know her name; some of my ladies employed her.

Q. Who is *Le Bernier*, whose name is written here?

A. It is the name of the physician who attended my children.

The Public Accuser here demanded that mandates of arrest should be issued against the above-named ladies, and that *Le Bernier* should be simply ordered to attend.

The Tribunal complied with this request.

The Register continued the inventory of the effects in a packet found on Marie Antoinette.

A small pocket-book containing scissors, needles, thread, silk, &c.

A small looking-glass.

A gold ring, with hair work.

A paper, on which are *two hearts*, in gold, with some initial letters.

Another

Another paper, on which is written, *Prayers to the sacred heart of Jesus, Prayers to the immaculate Conception.*

A portrait of a lady.

Q. Whose portrait is this?

A. That of *Madame De Lamballe.*

Two other portraits of ladies.

Q. Who are the persons these portraits represent?

A. Two ladies who I was brought up with at *Vienna.*

Q. What are their names?

A. The Ladies of *Mecklenbourg*, and of *Hesse.*

A paper containing 25 single *Louis d'ors.*

*Prisoner.* They are some that were lent me while we were at the *Feuillans.*

A small canvass, with a heart painted in flames on it, pierced by a dart.

The Public Accuser desired the witness *Hebert* to examine this heart, and to declare if he knew it to be the same he found in the Temple.

*Hebert.* This heart is not the same I found, but very much like it.

The Public Accuser remarked, that in the number of prisoners accused of conspiracy, and brought before the Tribunal as such, and who have suffered under the sword of the Law, most of them wore that counter-revolutionary sign.

*Hebert* observed, that he does not know any thing of the women *Salentin, Vion, and Chaumette,* having ever been employed in the service of the prisoners in the Temple.

*Prisoner.* They were so at the beginning.

Q. Did you not a few days after your evasion on the 20th of June, order some apparel of the *Sœurs Grises?* (A description of nuns.)

A. I never



A. I never gave any such order.

*Philip François Gabriel Latour Dupin Gouvernet*, an officer formerly in the French service, declares, that he has known the Prisoner ever since she came to France, but has no knowledge of any of the facts contained in the act of accusation.

*President to the Witnesses.* Have you not been present at the feasts in the Castle?

*Witness.* I never went to Court.

*President.* Were you not at the feast of the Gardes-du-Corps?

*Witness.* I could not be there, as I was at that time Comander in Burgundy.

*President.* What! were you not minister at that time?

*Witness.* I never was minister, nor would I have accepted the post, if those then in office had made me an offer of such an appointment.

*The President to the Witness Lecointre.* Do you know the witness present to have been Minister at War, in 1789?

*Lecointre.* I know this witness was never Minister—He that was Minister at that time is here now, and going to be examined.

The witness was ordered in.

*Jean Frederic Latour Dupin*, Officer and Ex-minister of War, deposes, that he knows the prisoner, but nothing of the charges in her indictment.

*President to the Witnesses.* Were you Minister on the 1st of October, 1789?

*Witness.* Yes; I was.

*President.* You no doubt at that time heard of the feast of the *ci-devant* Gardes-du-corps?

*Witness.* Yes; I did.

*President.* Were you not Minister in the month of June, 1789, when the troops arrived at Versailles?

*Witness.*

*Witness.* No; I was then Deputy of the Assembly.

*President.* The Court apparently laid you under restrictions, in naming you Minister at War?

*Witness.* I do not think the Court did.

*President.* Where were you on the 23d of June, when the *ci-devant* King came to hold that famous *Bed of Justice* in the midst of the Representatives of the People?

*Witness.* I was at my place as Deputy to the National Assembly.

*President.* Do you know, then, who were the authors who framed the declaration of the King, then read to the Assembly?

*Witness.* No; I do not.

*President.* Did you not hear say they were *Linguet, Espremenil, Barentin, Lally Tollendal, Desmeuniers, Bergasse, or Tbouret*?

*Witness.* No.

*President.* Was you at the *ci-devant* King's Council on the 5th of October, 1789?

*Witness.* No; I was not

*President.* Was *d'Estaing* there?

*Witness.* I did not see him there.

*D'Estaing* said: Well, then, my fight at that day was better than your's; for I remember perfectly well having seen you there.

*The President to Latour Dupin, Ex-minister.* Did you know that on that very day the 5th of October, the Royal Family were going to *Rambouillet*, and from thence to *Metz*?

*A.* I remember the question being deliberated that day in the Council, whether the King should go or not.

Q. Do you know the names of those that were for his departure?

A. I do not know them.

Q. What could be their motive for that departure?

A. The concourse of people arriving at Versailles, which gave rise to think that the Prisoner was then going to be murdered.

Q. What was the result of the deliberation of the Council?

A. That they should not go.

Q. Where were they going?

A. To *Rambouillet*.

Q. Did you at that time see the Prisoner in the Castle?

A. Yes; I did.

Q. Did she not assist at the Council?

A. I did not see her in the Council, but only saw her enter the Cabinet of Louis XVI.

Q. You say the Court was going to *Rambouillet*, but was it not rather to *Metz*?

A. No.

Q. In your capacity as Minister, did you not order coaches to be in readiness, and troops to be on the road to protect the departure of Louis Capet?

A. No.

Q. We know, however, to a certainty, that apartments were fitted up, and every thing got ready at *Metz* for the reception of the Capet Family.

A. This I know nothing of.

Q. Was it by the order of Antoinette, that you sent your son to *Nancy*, there to direct the massacre of those brave soldiers who had incurred the



the hatred of the Court by shewing themselves Patriots?

*A.* I sent my son to *Nancy* only to see the decrees of the National Assembly executed there; of course I acted not by the orders of the Court, but agreeably to the wishes of the people. Even the Jacobins, at whose Assembly *M. Camus* went to read the particulars of this affair, applauded it loudly.

*A Juryman.* Citizen President, I desire you will observe to the witness, that he must either be in error, or have bad intentions; because *Camus* never was a member of the Jacobins; and that Society was very much displeased at the rigorous measures of a licentious faction, which had passed a decree of arrest against the best citizens of *Nancy*.

*A.* That is what I heard say at the time.

*Q.* Was it by Antoinette's orders you left the army in the state in which it was found?

*A.* I certainly do not expect a reproach on that head; as the French army, at the time of my resignation, was on a very respectable footing.

*Q.* Was it to render it respectable, that you disbanded more than 30,000 patriots, to whom you ordered discharges written in yellow, to be distributed, with a view therewith to intimidate the defenders of their country, and prevent them from proving their patriotism and love of liberty?

*A.* This has nothing to do with the Minister; the disbanding of soldiers is not his business; the Colonels of the regiments have the ordering of that.

*Q.* But you, as Minister, ought to make those commanders of regiments render you an account of similar operations, in order to judge who was right or wrong?

E

*A.* I do

*A.* I do not believe there is one soldier who has any cause of complaint against me.

*Labenette* desired leave to mention a fact. He declared himself to be one of those that were honoured by the Minister with a discharge written in yellow, signed by his hand; and that in the regiment in which he served, he remarked the Aristocracy of the *Muscadins*, a number of whom were in the staff. He observes, that he, the deponent, was a subaltern officer, and that very likely Du Pin may remember his name to be *Clairroyant*, corporal of the regiment of—.

*La Tour du Pin.* Sir, I never heard of you!

*President.* Did not the Prisoner, during your administration, desire you to deliver to her the exact state of the French army?

*A.* Yes.

*Q.* Did she tell you what use she meant to make of it?

*A.* No.

*Q.* Where is your son now?

*A.* He is either in a country-seat near Bourdeaux or at Bourdeaux.

*President to the Prisoner.* At the time you asked the witness the state of the armies, was it not with the view to send it to the King of Bohemia and Hungary?

*A.* As that list was quite public, I had no occasion to send it him; the public papers were sufficient to make him acquainted therewith.

*Q.* What were your reasons then for demanding it?

*A.* As there was a *rumour* that the Assembly was going to make considerable alterations in the army, I was curious to have the list of the regiments intended to be suppressed.

*Q.* Have

Q. Have you not abused the influence you had over your husband, in asking him continually for drafts on the public treasury?

A. I never did so.

Q. Where then did you get the money to build and fit out the *Petit Trianon*, in which you gave feasts, of which you were always the Goddess?

A. There was a fund destined to that purpose.

Q. This fund then was very considerable! for the *Petit Trianon* has cost enormous sums.

A. It is possible that the *Petit Trianon* may have cost enormous sums; perhaps more than I wished. This expence was incurred by inches; in fact, I desire more than any one that every person may be informed what has been done there.

Q. Was it not at the *Petit Trianon* that you saw for the first time the wife of La Motte?

A. I never saw her.

Q. Was she not your victim in the affair of the famous necklace?

A. How could she be so, as I did not know her?

Q. So you persist in denying that you ever knew her?

A. My intention is not to deny; I only speak the truth, and shall persist in so doing.

Q. Was it not you that caused the Ministers and other Civil and Military Officers to be named?

A. No.

Q. Had you not a list of the persons you wished to get places for, with notes framed in glass?

A. No.

Q. Did you not force divers Ministers to name the vacant places to those whom you had given them a list of?

E 2

A. No.



A. No.

Q. Did you not force the Ministers of Finances to give you money; and some of them refusing to do so, have you not threatened them with all your indignation?

A. No; never.

Q. Did you not teaze Vergennes to send six millions to the King of Bohemia and Hungary?

A. No.

Q. Jean François Malhey, Keeper of the Tower in the Temple, deposed, that on the occasion of a song, called, *Ah! il t'en souviendra du retour de Varennes!* (Ah! thou wilt remember thy return from Varennes!) he said to Louis Charles Capet, 'Dost thou remember thy returning from Varennes?' to which the latter answered, 'Oh! yes, I remember it well.' That the witness having asked him further, how they did to carry him away? he answered that they took him out of his bed when asleep, and they dressed him in girl's clothes, saying, *Come, you are going to Montmedy.*

President to the Witness. Did you not observe during your residence in the Temple, a familiarity between some Members of the Commune and the Prisoner?

A. Yes; I even heard Toulan say one day to the Prisoner, at the time of the new elections made for the organization of the definitive Municipality, 'Madam! I am not in repute, because I am a Gascon.' I observed that L'Epitre and Toulan came frequently together; that they went up stairs directly, saying, 'Let us go up, we shall there wait for our colleagues.' Another day he saw Jobert hand some medallions to the Prisoner; the daughter of Capet let one fall to the ground

ground and broke it. After which the deponent entered into the details of the history of the hat found in Elizabeth's box.

*Prisoner.* I have to observe that the medallions mentioned by the witness were three in number; that that which fell on the floor and was broken, was the portrait of Voltaire; of the other two, one represented Medea, and the other some flowers.

*President to the Prisoner.* Did you not give to Toulan a gold snuff-box?

*A.* No; neither to Toulan nor any body else.

The witness *Hebert* observed, that a Justice of the Peace brought him to the Town-house a denunciation, signed by two Town Clerks of the Committee of Taxation, of which Toulan was the Chief, proving this fact in the clearest manner.

*Jean Baptiste Olivier Garnarin, ci-devant* Secretary to the Commission of Twenty-four, deposed, that having been commissioned to examine and enumerate the papers found in the house of *Septeuil*, he found in these papers a check for eighty thousand livres, signed *Antoinette*, to the profit of the *ci-devant Polignac*, with a note relating to one *Lazaille*; another paper proving that the Prisoner had sold her diamonds to send their produce to the Emigrants.

The deponent observed, that he delivered all these papers at the time to one *Valazé*, Member of the Commission, to frame the indictment against Louis Capet; but that he, the deponent, was very much surprised to find that *Valazé*, in the report he made to the National Convention, never mentioned any thing of these papers signed *Marie Antoinette*.

E 3

*President*

*President to the Prisoner.* Have you any observations to make on the evidence of the witness?

*A.* I persist in saying, that I never gave nor signed any checks.

*Q.* Do you know *Lazaille*?

*A.* Yes; I do.

*Q.* How did you know him?

*A.* I know him to be a naval officer, and to have seen him at Court, as well as others.

*Witness.* I have to observe, that the papers I spoke of were after the dissolution of the Committee of Twenty-four, and were carried to the Committee of General Safety, where they must be still; because having met within these few days, two of my colleagues employed with me in the Commission of Twenty-four, we spoke of the process that was going to be instituted against Marie Antoinette. I asked them what became of the papers in question?—They said, they were deposited with the Committee of General Safety.

A witness, *Tillet*, begged of the President to interrogate citizen *Garnarin*, to declare if he does not equally remember having seen among the papers found at *Septeuil's*, memorandums of purchases of sugar, coffee, corn, &c. &c. &c. having been made to the amount of two millions; out of which fifteen thousand livres were already paid; and whether he does not recollect that a few days after, these vouchers could not be found.

*The President to Garnarin.* You just now heard the interrogatory. Be so good as to answer it.

*Garnarin.* I know nothing of this business; at the same time it is notorious that there were plenty of fore-



forestallers all over France to buy up any article in order to enhance the price of it, and thereby to disgust the people with the Revolution and Liberty, and force them by this mean to forge their own chains.

*The President to the Accused.* Have you any knowledge of the immense forestallings of commodities of the first necessity, made by order of the Court, to starve the people, and compel them to demand again the former government, so favourable to tyrants.

*Prisoner.* I have no knowledge whatever of any forestallings.

*Charles Elconore Dufriché Valazé*, formerly delegate to the National Assembly, deposes, that betwixt the papers found at M. Septeuil's, and which with others served to frame the indictment against Louis Capet, deceased, and at the making out of which he himself co-operated, as a Member of the Commission of Twenty-four, he observed two of them relating to the prisoner.

The first was a check, or rather a receipt by her, signed for a sum of 15 or 20,000 livres, as near as he remembers; the other was a letter in which the Minister begs of the King to communicate to Marie Antoinette the plan of the campaign presented to him.

*The President to the Witness.* Why did you not speak of these vouchers when you made your report to the Convention?

*Witness.* I did not mention them, because I thought it superfluous to speak in the process of Louis Capet of a quittance of Antoinette.

Q. Have you been a Member of the Commission of Twenty-four?

E 4

A. Yes.

*A.* Yes, I have.

*Q.* Do you know what became of these two vouchers?

*A.* The pieces which served to form the indictment against Louis Capet were claimed by the Commune of Paris, because they contained charges against sundry individuals, suspected to have had an intention to compromise with several Members of the National Convention, in order to obtain decrees favourable to Louis Capet. I believe that all the vouchers have now been returned to the Committee of General Safety.

*President to the Prisoner.* What have you to answer to the depositions of this witness?

*A.* I know nothing, neither of the check nor the letter he mentions.

*The Public Accuser.* It seems to be proved, notwithstanding your denials, that through your influence over the *ci-devant* King, your consort, you made him do what you pleased?

*A.* There is a wide difference between advising an action, and executing it.

*Q.* You mean to say, that, from the declaration of the witness, it results, that the Ministers so well knew your influence over Louis Capet, that one of them desired of him to communicate to you the plan of the campaign he a few days before had presented to him. The consequence of which is, that you had entirely got master over his feeble character, and made him do any thing bad; for supposing even that of all your advice, he followed the very best, you must be convinced within yourself, that he never could have made use of worse means to conduct France to the brink of destruction.

*A. I*

*A.* I never knew him to have that character you are speaking of.

*Nicholas La Boeuf*, heretofore a municipal officer, protests against having any knowledge of the facts relating to the indictment; for, says he, if I had observed any thing, I should have made you acquainted therewith.

*President to the Witness.* Did you ever converse with Louis Capet?

*A.* No.

*Q.* Did you not, when you was on duty in the Temple, enter into conversation on political affairs with your colleagues and the prisoner?

*A.* I frequently conversed with my colleagues, but we did not speak of politics.

*Q.* Did you frequently address Louis Charles Capet?

*A.* Never.

*Q.* Did you not offer him the *Nouveau Telemaque* to read?

*A.* No.

*Q.* Have you not manifested a desire to be his governor?

*A.* No, never.

The prisoner being interrogated to declare if she ever had any private conversation with the witness, declares that she never spoke to him.

*Augustin Germain Jobert*, a municipal officer, and Administrator of the Police, declares, that he has no knowledge whatever of any of the facts contained in the indictment against the prisoner.

*President to the Witness.* Have you not during your time of service in the Temple, had some conference with the prisoner?

*A.* No, never.

*Q.* Did



Q. Did you not shew her something curious one one day?

A. I have, in fact, shewn to the widow Capet and her daughter, medallions in wax, allegorical to the Revolution.

Q. Was there not a man's portrait betwixt them?

A. I do not believe there was.

Q. For instance, the portrait of *Voltaire*?

A. Yes ; but I have in my house 4 or 5000 of these sorts of medallions.

Q. Why was the picture of *Medea* among the number? Did you mean it as an allusion to the Prisoner?

A. It was all chance; I have so many of them. They are an article from England which I trade in, and sell them to the merchants.

Q. Have you any knowledge that, from time to time, young Capet was shut up, during the time you and other Administrators had private conferences with the prisoner?

A. I know nothing of it.

Q. And so you persist in saying that you never had any private conference with the Prisoner?

A. Yes.

*President to the Prisoner.* Do you persist in saying that you had no conversation with the two last witnesses?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you equally persist in saying that Bailly and La Fayette were not concerned in your flight, on the night of the 20th and 21st June, 1791?

A. Yes.

Q. I shall observe to you, that in these facts you are contradicted by the declaration of your son?

A. It is easy to make a child, only eight years old, say every thing that one wishes.

Q. But

Q. But one declaration alone was not judged sufficient—he was made to repeat it different times—he always said the same thing.

A. Then I deny the fact.

Q. Since your confinement in the Temple, did you not get your picture drawn?

A. Yes; it was done in *Passel*.

Q. Were you not shut up with the painter; and did you not make use of this pretence, in order to receive accounts of what was going on in the Legislative Assembly, and in the Convention?

A. No.

Q. What is this painter's name?

A. *Coeftier*; a Polish painter, and settled at Paris these twenty years.

Q. Where does he live?

A. In the street *du Cocq St. Honoré*.

*Antony Francis Moile*, late Substitute of the Attorney of the Commons of Paris, acting before the Tribunal of the Municipal and Correctional Police, says, that having been three times on duty at the Temple, once near the person of Louis Capet, and twice with the women, he did not remark any thing but the common attention of women to examine a man whom they see for the first time;—he returned to the Temple last March; the guards were playing different games; the prisoners came sometimes to look at them, but never spoke; finally, he protests never to have had any intimacy with the prisoner, whenever he was on duty at the Temple.

*President*. Have you any observations to make relative to the deposition of this witness?

A. The observation that I have to make is, that I never had any conversation with this witness.

*Renée*

*Renée Sevin*, otherwise *Chaumette*, her husband's name, deposes, knowing the Prisoner six years, having lived with her in the station of under *femme-de-chambre*, but that she is not acquainted with any of the facts stated in the Act of Accusation, except that on the 10th of August, she saw the King review the Swiss guards; that is all she knows.

*President to the Witness.* Were you at the Castle at the time of the departure for Varenne?

*A.* Yes; but I knew nothing about it.

*Q.* In what part of the Castle did you sleep?

*A.* At the extremity of the pavilion of Flora.

*Q.* Did you on the night of the 9th and 10th hear the alarm-bells, and the drum beat to arms?

*A.* No; I slept then under the roof.

*Q.* How! you slept then under the roof, and you did not hear the alarm-bells?

*A.* No; I was sick.

*Q.* And by what chance were you present at the Royal review?

*A.* I was on foot from six in the morning.

*Q.* How! you were sick, and got up at six o'clock?

*A.* Because I heard a great noise.

*Q.* At the time of the review, did you hear the cry of *Long live the King! Long live the Queen!*

*A.* I heard on one side the cry, *Vive le Roi! Vive la Reine!* and on the other, *Vive la Nation!*

*Q.* Did you, on the eve, see the extraordinary movements of the Swiss guards, and of the ruffians who had put on their uniforms?

*A.* I did not, on that day, go down to the castle yard.

*Q.* To take your meals, you must have come down?

*A.* I did



*A.* I did not go out of my room—a servant brought me what was wanting.

*Q.* But this servant, at least, must have informed you of what was passing.

*A.* I never held any conversation with him.

*Q.* It appears that you have passed your life at court, and that you learnt there the art of dissimulation.—What is the name of the woman who took care of the laces of the prisoner?

*A.* I do not know her—I only heard talk of a *Madame Conet*, who mended the laces, and was employed in the toilette of the children.

[The witnesses having mentioned the place of abode of said *Madame Conet*, the Public Accuser required, and the Tribunal issued an order for her immediate appearance before them].

*John Baptist Vincent*, Mason and Undertaker of Buildings, deposes, that he had been on service at the Temple, as Member of the General Council of the Commons, but that he never had any conference with the prisoner.

*Nicolas Marie Jean Beuguot*, Architect, and Member of the Commons, deposes, that being called by his colleagues to have a general inspection of the prisoners in the Temple, he never forgot himself so far as to hold any conversation with the prisoners, much less with the present one.

*President to the Witnesses.* Did you not cause little Capet and his sister to be shut up in the little tower, while you, and some others your colleagues, were in conversation with the prisoner?

*Witness.* No.

*Q.* Did you not procure the means of hearing news by the assistance of news-hawkers?

*A.* No.

*Q.* Did

Q. Did you hear that the prisoner had made a present of a gold snuff-box to Toulan?

A. No.

*Prisoner.* I never had any conversation with this witness.

*Francis Dangé*, Administrator of the Police deposes, having been many times on service at the Temple, but that he never had, nor ought to have held any private conversation with the prisoners.

*President.* Did you never hold young Capet upon your knees? Have you not said to him, I could wish to see you in the place of your father?

A. No.

Q. Since the prisoner has been confined in the *Conciergerie*, did you not procure admission to several of your friends into her chamber?

A. No.

Q. What is your opinion of the prisoner?

A. If she is guilty she should be judged.

Q. Did you hear say that any persons had been brought into the *Conciergerie*?

A. No.

Q. Do you believe she is a patriot?

A. No.

Q. Do you believe she wishes for a republic?

A. No.

*John Baptist Michonis*, Keeper of a Coffee-house, Member of the Commons of the 10th of August, 1792, and Administrator of the Police, deposes that he knows the prisoner, for having, in company with his colleagues, assisted in conveying her, on the 2d of August last, from the Temple to the *Conciergerie*.

*President to Witness.* Did you not procure for somebody admission to the prisoner's chamber, since she has been in this prison?

A. Pardon

A. Pardon me; I procured it for one *Giroux*, who keeps an academy in the suburbs, a painter, to Citizen——, Administrator of the *Domaines*, and to another of my friends.

Q. You have, no doubt, procured admission for other persons?

A. This is the fact, for I should tell here, and will tell the whole truth: On St. Peter's day, dining at the house of a Mr. *Fontaine*, where there was good company, particularly three or four Members of the Convention; among others was Madame *Tilleul*, who invited Citizen *Fontaine* to dinner at her country-house at *Vaugirard*, on Mary Magdalen's Day, adding, 'Citizen Michonis will not be one too many;' having asked her, 'how she could know me?' she replied, 'she had seen me at the Mansion House, where business had carried her;'—on the appointed day, I went to *Vaugirard*, and found a numerous party—after dinner, the conversation was on the subject of prisons; the *Conciergerie* was mentioned—some one said, 'the widow Capet is there;—it is said she is much changed; that her hair is become entirely white;'—I answered, 'that in fact her hair was getting grey; but that she was in good health.'—A Citizen who was there expressed a desire to see her; I promised to gratify him in that respect, and did so; on the ensuing day, *la Richard* (the gaoler's wife) said to me, 'do you know the person whom you brought here yesterday?'—having answered, 'that I did not know him any other way than having seen him at one of my acquaintances;'—'well,' said she, 'it is reported he was a Knight of *St. Louis*,' giving me at the same time a small slip of paper, written, or at least pricked with the point



point of a pin;—I then answered her—‘ I swear to you, that I never shall bring any one here.’

*President to Witnesses.* Did you not inform the Prisoner, that your functions were at an end at the Commons of Paris?

*A.* Yes; I held that discourse.

*Q.* What did the Prisoner answer you?

*A.* She said to me,—‘ we shall then see you no more;’—I answered, ‘ Madame, I remain a Municipal Officer, and can see you from time to time.’

*Q.* How could you, as an Administrator of the Police, contrary to the regulations, admit a person unknown to you to the Prisoner’s chamber;—were you, therefore, ignorant, that a great number of intriguing characters employ every means to corrupt the Administrators?

*A.* It was not he who asked me to see the widow Capet; it was I who made him the offer.

*Q.* How often did you dine with him?

*A.* Twice.

*Q.* What is the name of that person?

*A.* I cannot tell.

*Q.* What did he promise you, or give you in order to have the satisfaction of seeing Antoinette?

*A.* I never received any reward.

*Q.* While he was in the Prisoner’s chamber, did you not see him make a sign?

*A.* No.

*Q.* Have you not seen him since?

*A.* I saw him but once.

*Q.* Why did you not get him arrested?

*A.* I acknowledge, that in this respect I committed a double fault.

*One of the Jury.* Citizen President, I should observe to you, that this woman Tilleul is just now under arrest, as a suspected person and a counter-revolutionist.

*Petes*

*Peter Edward Bernier*, a Physician, declares knowing the Prisoner fourteen or fifteen years, having been since that time physician to her children.

*President to the Witness.* Were you not, in 1789, physician to the children of Louis Capet; and in this situation, did you not hear talk at Court, at that period, of the cause of the extraordinary assembly of troops which took place at Versailles, as well as at Paris?

*A.* No.

The Witness *Hebert* being called upon, observes, that on the days which followed the 10th of August, the Republican Commons were totally rendered, as if in a paralytic state, through the wiles of *Manuel* and *Petion*, who opposed the reduction of the Prisoners' table at the Temple, and prevented a more frugal plan from taking place; they opposed likewise the turning off their valets, upon the false pretence that it became the dignity of the people that the prisoners should not want for any thing;—he likewise adds, that *Bernier*, the witness present, was often at the Temple on the first days of the confinement of the Capet family; but that his frequent visits made him be considered as a suspected person, particularly when it was perceived that he approached the Prisoner's children with all the servility of the old Government.

*Bernier* assures, that it was with becoming decency, and not with servility.

*Claude Denis Tavernier*, *ci-devant* Lieutenant à la Suite of the staff of the army, deposes, that being on guard, on the night of the 20th and 21st of June, 1791, he saw *La Fayette* come in the  
F evening

evening and speak several times with *La Jarre* and *La Colombe*; at two in the morning, he saw *La Fayette's* carriage pass over the bridge called *Royal*; finally, that he saw this last man change colour, when he was informed that the *Capet* family had been stopped at *Varennes*.

*John Maurice Francis De Brasse*, Lieutenant of the *Genmarderie*, attending the *Tribunals* of Justice, declares, knowing the Accused four years; he has not any knowledge of the facts contained in the act of accusation, except that being on duty at the *Conciergerie*, on the eve of that day, when *Amar* and *Sevestre*, Members of the Convention, came there for the purpose of hearing widow *Capet* answer their interrogatories, a gendarme had communicated the affair of the *pink scene*, and he instantly made it his business to call for an immediate enquiry into the business, which accordingly took place.

*Joseph Boye*, a painter, declared he had known the accused for eight years, as he then took the portrait of the King; but he had never spoken to her. He then gave an account of the project of reconciliation between the people and the *ci-devant* King, by the intervention of *Thierry*, valet-de-chambre of *Louis Capet*.

The Prisoner drew from her pocket a paper, which she gave to one of her defenders.

The Public Accuser demanded of *Antoinette* to declare what was the paper she had given him.

*A. Hebert* said, this morning, that correspondence was carried on by means of our clothes and shoes. I wrote for fear of forgetting that all our clothes and effects were examined when they came near us, which was done by the Administrators of the Police.

*Hebert*



*Hebert* observed, he was induced to make this declaration; because the number of shoes was very considerable; fourteen or fifteen pairs a month.

*Dedier Jourdebevil*, Serjeant, declared, that in the month of September, 1792, he found a string of papers in the house of *Affry*, in which was a letter from *Antoinette*, that contained these words:—Can we trust the *Swiss*?—will they be firm when it may be necessary?

*Queen*. I never wrote to *Affry*.

The Public Accuser observed, that last year, being Director of the Jury of Accusation near the Tribunal of the 17th of August, he was entrusted with the drawing up of the process against *Affry* and *Cuzotte*; that he perfectly well recollects having seen the letter of which the witness speaks; but the faction of *Roland* having caused this Tribunal to be suppressed, got the papers removed by means of a decree which they procured, notwithstanding the objections of all good Republicans.

*President*. What were the papers which were burnt at the manufacture of *Seve*?

*A*. I believe it was a libel: as for the rest, I was not consulted about it; I was told of it afterwards.

*Q*. How can you be ignorant of this fact?—Was it *Riston* who was charged with the negotiation of this affair?

*A*. I never heard any thing of *Riston*; and I persist in saying, that I did not know *La Motte*: if I had been consulted, I would have opposed the burning of papers against me.

*Pierre Fontaine*, wood-merchant, declared himself ignorant of every part of the accusation, knowing the Prisoner only by reputation, and having no connexion with the late Court.

*President to the Witness.* How long have you known Michonis?

*A.* About fourteen years.

*Q.* What is the name of the individual who dined with you in company with Michonis?

*A.* His name is *Rougy*; I do not remember any thing about him; he was introduced by *Madame Du Tibeul*.

*Q.* How do you know that lady?

*A.* I once met her with another woman on the *Boulevard*; we entered into conversation, and drank coffee together; since that time she has been often at my house.

*Q.* Has she not communicated to you some secrets?

*A.* Never.

*Q.* What are the names of the deputies who were found with *Rougy* and Michonis?

*A.* There was only one.

*Q.* His name.

*A.* *Santerreau*, Deputy from *Nievre* to the Convention, and two other Commissioners, sent by the Primary Assemblies of the same Department to carry their act of the acceptance of the Constitution.

*Q.* What are their names?

*A.* *Balendnot*, curate of *Beaumont*; and *Paulinmer*, also of that Department.

*Q.* Do you know what is become of *Rougy*?

*A.* No.

*Michael*

*Michael Gointre*, employed in the War-office, said he had read attentively the act of accusation, and was much surprised not to find in it the articles of the forged assignats of Passy; as *Polverel*, who had been ordered to enquire into this affair, answered, it was impossible for him to proceed, unless the Assembly decreed, that no person but the King was inviolable, this made him imagine, that there was no other person than the accused, about whom *Polverel* wished to speak, as she alone could furnish the funds necessary for such an enterprize.

*Tasset*, a Juryman. Citizen President, I wish the prisoner to be asked to declare, if she did not give the Cross of St. Louis and a Captain's brevet to a person named *Larcguie*?

A. I know none of that name.

Q. Did you not procure the nomination of *Collet de Verriere* to serve in the *ci-devant* Guard of the late King?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you not procure *Parriseau* a similar appointment?

A. No.

Q. You so influenced the organization of the late Royal Guard, that it was composed only of individuals against whom the public opinion was directed; and, indeed, could the patriots behold without pain, the Chief of the nation surrounded with guards, composed of non-juring priests and assassins? Happily your politics were wrong: their anti-civic conduct, their counter-revolutionary sentiments, forced the Legislative Assembly to dismiss them; and Louis Capet, after that operation,



kept them in pay till the 10th of August, when he was overturned in his turn.

Q. On your marriage with Louis Capet, did you not conceive the project of re-uniting Lorraine to Austria?

A. No.

Q. You bear its name?

A. Because we ought to bear the name of our country.

Q. After the affair of Nancy, did you not write to Bouille, to congratulate him on his having massacred seven or eight thousand patriots in that town?

A. I never wrote to him.

Q. Did you not employ yourself in founding the opinion of the Departments, Districts, and Municipalities?

A. No.

The Public Accuser observed to the Prisoner, that there was found upon her Secretary, a paper, which attests the fact in a most precise manner, and in which were found inscribed the names of Vaublanc and Jancourt.

The said paper being read, the Queen persisted in saying, that she did not recollect that she had ever written any thing of the kind.

*Witness.* I should request, Citizen President, that the Accused may be obliged to declare, whether, on the day the people did her husband the honour of decorating him with the *red bonnet*, there was not held a nocturnal Council in the Palace, where the destruction of Paris was resolved, and where it was decided to post up royal bills, by ESMENARD, *Rue Platrière*?

A. I do not know that name,

Q. Did

Q. Did you not on the 9th of August, 1792, give your hand to *Tassin*, of Etang, to kiss, who was Captain of the armed force of the Filles Saint Thomas—in saying to his battalion, “ You are brave fellows, and of good principles; I will ever count on your fidelity?”

A. No.

Q. Why did you, who had promised to bring up your children in the principles of the Revolution, teach them nothing but errors—in treating, for instance, your son with a respect which might make it to be believed that you thought of seeing him one day the successor of the *ci-devant* King, his Father?

A. He was too young to speak to on that subject. I placed him at the head of the table, to give him myself what he wanted.

Q. Have you any thing to add to your defence?

A. Yesterday I did not know the witnesses: I knew not what they were to depose against me; and nobody has produced against me any positive fact. I conclude, by observing, that I was only the wife of LOUIS XVI. and it was requisite for me to conform myself to his will.

The President announced, that the interrogatories were closed.

*Fouquier*, the Public Accuser, then spoke.—He reminded the Jury of the flagitious conduct of the late French Court—of its constant machinations against Liberty, the destruction of which it sought to encompass at any rate—its efforts to kindle a civil war, in order to turn it to its own advantage, by adopting this Machiavelian maxim, *Divide and Reign!*—its criminal and culpable

connexions with the Foreign Powers with whom the Republic was at open war—its habits of intimacy with a villanous faction, which was devoted to it, and seconded its designs, by exciting in the bosom of the Convention animosities and dissensions, by employing all possible means to ruin Paris, and arming the departments against that city, and by incessantly calumniating the generous inhabitants of that city, the mother and preserver of Liberty—the massacres perpetrated by the orders of that corrupt Court in the principal towns of France, especially at Montauban, Nîmes, Arles, Nanci, in the Champ de Mars, &c. &c. He considered Marie Antoinette the avowed enemy of the French Nation—as the principal instigatrix of the troubles which had taken place in France for these four years past, and to which thousands of Frenchmen fell victims.

“ There is one general observation to be attended to—namely, that the Accused has owned that she had the confidence of Louis Capet;—it is evident, too, from the declaration of *Valazé*, that Antoinette was consulted in political affairs, since the late King was desirous that she should be consulted upon some plan, of which the witness could not tell the object. One of the witnesses, whose precision and ingenuity are remarkable, has told you, that the late Duke of Coigny had told her, in 1788, that Antoinette had sent the Emperor, her brother, 200 millions to enable him to carry on the war which he then waged against the Turks. Since the Revolution, a bill of between 60 and 80,000 livres, signed Antoinette, and drawn upon Septeuil, has been given to the woman Polignac, then an emigrant; and a letter from La Porte recommended



commended it to Septeuil, to prevent the least trace of that gift from being discovered. Lecoindre of Versailles told you, as an ocular witness, that since the year 1779, enormous sums had been expended at Court, for *fêtes*, of which Marie Antoinette was always the idol."

The Public Accuser here enumerated the heads of the charges brought against the Queen in the Act of Accusation, which is given in the former part of this trial;—in commenting on her conduct while confined in the Temple, he spoke as follows:

"The persons whose business it was to superintend in the Temple, always remarked in Antoinette an air of rebellion against the Sovereignty of the People. They seized an image representing an heart, which is a sign of *rallying*, and was worn by all the Counter Revolutionists who came within the grasp of national vengeance. After the Tyrant's death, Antoinette observed in the Temple, with regard to her son, all the *etiquette* of the antient Court; the son of Capet was treated as a King; in all domestic occurrences, he had the precedence of his mother; at table he sat at the upper end, and was served first.

"I shall forbear, Citizens of the Jury, to mention here the interview of the Chevalier de St. Louis—of the carnation left in the apartment of the Accused—of the pricked paper given, or rather prepared for an answer;—but this incident is a mere gaol intrigue, and only a trivial object in such a grand Act of Accusation;—it is the French Nation which accuses Antoinette; and all the political events prove evidence against her."

The

*The President then addressed the People as follows :*

“ If the Citizens who compose this audience were not liberal men, and, consequently, capable of feeling all the dignity of their state, I ought, perhaps, to recall to their memory, that at the moment when the national justice is about to declare the law, reason and morality impose upon them the greatest silence, and forbid every mark of approbation ; and that a person, of whatever crimes they may be convicted, and attainted by the law, is then only entitled to pity and humanity.”

*Fouquier* then spoke, and demanded that the Accused should be condemned to die, conformable to the first article of the first section of the first head of the second part of the Penal Code, which is thus expressed :

“ Every manœuvre or intelligence with the enemies of France, tending to facilitate their entrance into any part of the Republic, whether it be to deliver up to them towns, fortresses, ports, or vessels, appertaining to France, or in furnishing them with succours in men, money, provisions, or ammunition, or to favour in any manner the progress of their arms on the French territory, or against our forces by sea and land, whether by corrupting the fidelity of the officers, soldiers, or other citizens, towards the French Nation, shall be punished with death.”

And the second article of the first section of the first title of the second part of the same code is thus expressed :

“ Every conspiracy and plot, tending to trouble the State by a civil war, in arming citizens against citizens, or the exercise of regal authority, shall be punished with death.”

*The*

*The President of the Tribunal at length summed up the Evidence in the following Manner.*

“ Citizens of the Jury! The French Nation, by its organ, the Public Accuser, has accused before the National Jury, Marie Antoinette, of Austria, widow of Louis Capet, of having been the accomplice, or rather instigatrix of most of the crimes of which the last tyrant of France was found guilty—of having herself kept up a secret understanding with powerful foreign nations, especially with the King of Bohemia and Hungary, her brother—with the *ci-devant* emigrant French Princes, and traitorous Generals — of having furnished the enemies of the Republic with supplies of money—and of having conspired with them against the external and internal security of the State.

“ A great example is this day given to the universe, and it will surely not be lost upon the nations which inhabit it. Nature and reason, so long outraged, are satisfied at last, and Equality is triumphant. A woman, who lately possessed all the most brilliant appendages which the pride of Kings, and the baseness of slaves, could invent, occupies now, before the tribunal of the nation, the place which was occupied, two days ago, by another woman; and this Equality secures impartial justice.

“ This trial, Citizens of the Jury, is not one of those where a single fact, a single crime, is submitted to your conscience and your knowledge. You have to judge all the political life of the accused, ever since she came to sit by the side of the last King of the French; but you must, above all, fix your deliberation upon the manœuvres which she never ceased to employ, to destroy rising liberty,  
either



either from within the kingdom, by her close connexion with infamous Ministers, perfidious Generals, and faithless Representatives of the people; or, from without the kingdom, by causing the negotiation of that monstrous coalition of the Despots of Europe, which history holds up to ridicule for their impotence.—In short, you must fix your attention to her correspondence with the *ci-devant* emigrant French Princes, and their agents.

Had we wished for an oral proof all these deeds, the prisoner ought to have been made to appear before the whole French nation. The material proof rests on the papers seized in the abode of Louis Capet, enumerated in a report made to the National Convention by Gohier, one of its Members, in the collection of the justificatory pieces of the Act of Accusation, passed against Louis Capet by the Convention.—Lastly, and chiefly, Citizens of the Jury, the proof lies in the political events of which you have all been witnesses and judges.

“ If it were permitted to me, in fulfilling a limited office, to have yielded to emotions of humanity, we should have invoked before the Jury the manes of our brothers at Nanci, at the Champ de Mars, at the frontiers of la Vendée, at Marseilles, at Lyons, at Toulon, in consequence of the infernal machinations of this modern Medicis: we should have brought before you the fathers, the mothers, the wives, the infants, of those unhappy patriots!—What do I say? Unhappy! they have died for liberty, and faithful to their country. All those families in tears and despair, would have accused Antoinette of having snatched from them every thing that was most dear to them in the world, and the deprivation of which renders life insupportable.

If

If the satellites of Austrian despotism have broken in for a moment on our frontiers, and if they have there committed atrocities of which the history even of barbarous nations does not furnish a parallel example;—if our ports, our plains, and our cities, are sold or given up, is it not evidently the result of the manœuvres planned at the Thuilleries, and of which Marie Antoinette was at once the instigatrix and the moving principle? These, Citizens Jurors, are the public events which form the mass of proof that overwhelms Marie Antoinette.

With regard to the declarations which were made in bringing on this trial, and the debates which have taken place, there results from them certain facts, which come directly in proof of the principal accusation brought against the Widow CAPET. All the other details, given either as a history of the Revolution, or in the proceedings against certain notorious personages, and some treacherous public functionaries, vanish before the charge of High Treason, which weighs heavily upon Antoinette of Austria, widow of the *ci-devant* King.

He then said to the Jury, "These are the questions which the Tribunal has determined to submit to you:

1st. "Is it proved that there existed machinations and private correspondences with powerful foreign States, and other external enemies of the Republic: such machinations and correspondences tending to furnish succours in money, and to give them ingress into the French territory, for the purpose of facilitating the progress of their arms?

2d. "Is

2d. "Is Marie Antoinette convicted of having co-operated with the machinations, and of having entertained those correspondences?"

3d. "Is it proved, that there existed a plot or conspiracy to light up a civil war in the heart of the Republic?"

4th. "Is Marie Antoinette convicted of having had a share in that plot and that conspiracy?"

The Jury, after having deliberated about an hour, returned into the Hall, and gave a verdict that MARIE ANTOINETTE was found guilty "*of having been accessary to and having co-operated in different manœuvres against the liberty of France;—of having entertained a correspondence with the enemies of the Republic,—of having participated in a plot tending to kindle civil war in the interior of the Republic, by arming Citizens against each other.*"

When the sentence of the National Convention was read to the widow of Capet, she cast down her eyes, and did not again lift them up. "Have you nothing to reply upon the determination of the law?" said the President to her. "Nothing," she replied. Then addressing himself to Chauveau de la Garde and Trouson du Coudray, he said "And you, official defenders?"—"Our mission is fulfilled with respect to the widow Capet," said they.

The President then moved for the Court to adjourn; and the Queen was conducted back to the prison.

The



*The Imprisonment and Execution of the QUEEN.*

IT is necessary to remark, that not only the French Gazettes have been almost wholly silent on the subject of the imprisonment and execution of this unfortunate Princess; but it is also to be lamented, that no private accounts hitherto received from France have supplied this deficiency. The following is the most particular relation of the imprisonment and execution, that it has been able to collect from different persons and papers:

On the 1st of August, in virtue of a decree of the Convention, the QUEEN was removed from the *Temple*, to the prison of the *Conciergerie*.

In the early part of the month of October, when it had been finally resolved to proceed on her trial, she underwent several private interrogatories; the answers to which were afterwards tortured into confessions of her own criminality. The cell in which her Majesty was confined during the whole of the above intervening period, seems to have been particularly chosen in order to depress the mind of this royal victim, and to render her sufferings more poignant. It was a room twelve feet long, eight feet broad, four feet under ground, and a grated window on a level with it, through which the light glimmered. From the ceiling hung an iron lamp, in which oil was burned by night. The furniture of this dungeon was such as it usually afforded to other prisoners; her food was such only as the gaol allowed; and she was constantly watched by a female prisoner and two light-horsemen.

On

On the 14th of October, at nine o'clock in the morning, the Queen passed from her cell to the adjoining Tribunal. Her trial lasted till three o'clock; was renewed again at six, and finished at nine, for that evening. It was in returning from this Tribunal, that she asked if she had answered with too much dignity: "I ask you," said she, "because I overheard a woman say, see how haughty she still is!" Her interrogatory recommenced on the morning of the 15th, and lasted nearly the same number of hours. Whether on that night she was privately informed of her fate, or when the Constitutional priest, who like her Counsel, was given her in mockery (for her piety forbade all religious communication with one she must have deemed heretic), is not known; but it is certain she passed that night like the others, constantly in sight of her gaolers, without being allowed to send or hear from her children, or Madame Elizabeth; or to see any person whatever.

On Wednesday morning, the 16th, after all the preceding exertions of her trial, the Queen was brought into the Court to hear her sentence. Being asked if she had any thing to offer against it, she answered "*Nothing.*" Her defenders also replied to the same question "*Our mission is fulfilled in regard to the widow Capet.*" Reconducted for a few minutes to her dungeon, the executioner seized his victim. A white waistcoat with sleeves, but leaving her neck and shoulders bare, was put upon her; her hands were tied behind her with cords, and she was conveyed to the *tombrel* that waited for her. This vehicle is a kind of dung-cart, used as an aggravation of punishment, to convey to the scaffold the worst and vilest criminals.

She

She sat out from the *Conciergerie* to the place of execution at half past eleven o'clock in the forenoon. The whole armed force of Paris was out, from the Revolutionary Tribunal to the *Place de la Revolution*. The streets were lined by two very close rows of armed citizens. Beside her, on the *tombrel*, sat the *ci-devant* curate of *St. Landry*, a constitutional priest, and the executioner. Her head was bare, for the hand of the hangman had already cut off her once fair tresses. As she was placed in the cart, the mob applauded and cried "*Bravo!*" Thus apparelled and attended, in this constrained and painful attitude, amidst two ranks of insulting and applauding ruffians, over a rugged pavement for near a mile, passed the Mother, Daughter, Sister, and Wife of Emperors and Kings—the offspring of MARIA THERESA—the descendant of the CÆSARS!

The procession lasted near an hour and a half; during this whole time, no murmur, no sign of indignation, anger or complaint, escaped her; she looked round her with a calm and dignified air. When she mounted the scaffold, the same applauses and bravoës were heard again. She *smiled*. The executioners bound their victim to the plank which bowed her to the axe, and terminated all her sufferings. No female hand was there to compose her decent limbs; no pious friend to pay the last sad rites; but the executioner, after shewing her head to the bawling multitude, threw her remains into a box, which was afterwards thrown into a hole dug in the church-yard of *La Magdelaine*, and lime thrown  
over



over her remains, to destroy them speedily, as had been done to her husband. After the execution, three young persons dipped their handkerchiefs in her blood; one of whom, it is said, has been since executed for this offence.



**F I N I S .**

